

TO JE MOJ IZVEŠTAJ VAMA

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THIS IS MY REPORT TO YOU

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ŽARANA PAPIĆ

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AS OPPOSED TO WOMEN AUTHORS WHO PERCEIVE THE CHALLENGE OF POST MODERNITY AS AN OBSTACLE TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE FEMALE SUBJECTIVITY, IN MY OPINION THIS CHALLENGE CAN BE TAKEN AS COMPLETELY THE OPPOSITE - AS A POSSIBILITY TO CONSTRUCT DIFFERENT SUBJECTS. WITH THE DECONSTRUCTION OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT, RATIONAL, UNIVERSAL SUBJECT WHICH, UP TO NOW WAS ONLY MASCULINE, A SERIOUS POSSIBILITY OF A CONSTRUCTION OF A DIFFERENT, MULTIDIMENSIONAL SUBJECT IS OPENING, THAT IS, OF A SERIAL OF SUBJECTS. AND IN CONSTRUCTING THAT MULTIPLICITY, ESPECIALLY THE STRONG ONES WILL BE THE FEMALE SUBJECTS.

ZA RAZLIKU OD AUTORKI KOJE POSTMODERNI IZAZOV DOŽIVLJAVAJU KAO ONEMOGUĆAVANJE IZGRADNJE ŽENSKJE SUBJEKTIVNOSTI, POMOĆ SUDU OVAJ IZAZOV SE MOŽE TUMAČITI SASVIM SUPROTNOM – KAO OMOGUĆAVANJE IZGRADNJE DRUGIH SUBJEKATA. DEKONSTRUKCIJOM PROSVJETELJSKOG, RACIONALISTIČKOG, UNIVERZALNOG SUBJEKTA, KOJI JE DO SADA IMAO ISKLJUČIVO MUŠKI LIK, PRUŽA SE OZBILJNA MOGUĆNOST KONSTRUKCIJE DRUGAČIJEG, VIŠEDIMENZIONALNOG SUBJEKTA ILI, BOLJE REČENO, MNOŠTVA SUBJEKATA. U IZGRADNJI TOG MNOŠTVA POSEBNO 'JAK(I)', NARAVNO, BIĆE ŽENSKI SUBJEKT(I)

IN FEW WORDS, UNTIL THE BEGINNING OF THESE WARS, FEMINISM WAS SOMETHING LIKE A PHENOMENON UNDER A BELL JAR. WE ORGANIZED DISCUSSIONS AND SO FORTH. HOWEVER WE DIDN'T UNDERSTAND THAT WE COULD ACT POLITICALLY AS WELL, SINCE UNDER THE BELL JAR OF TITO'S SOCIALISM WE HAD GROWN SOFT. ONLY THE WARFARE, FIRST IN CROATIA, THEN IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA, TRIGGERED, ESPECIALLY ON THE SERBIAN SIDE, THE FEMINISTS TO BECOME POLITICALLY ACTIVE AGAINST ETHNIC CLEANSING, AGAINST MILITARISM, AGAINST NATIONALISM. AND FIRST OF ALL "WOMEN IN BLACK", THEN AUTONOMOUS WOMEN'S CENTER AND LAST BUT NOT LEAST, IN 1992 WE EVEN FOUNDED THE CENTER FOR WOMEN'S STUDIES. WHEN WE ASKED THE GIRLS - WHY DID YOU COME TO THE CENTER FOR WOMEN'S STUDIES - THEY ANSWERED, WE WANT TO THINK.

KRATKO REČENO, DO POČETKA OVIH RATOVA, FEMINIZAM JE BIO NEŠTO KAO FENOMEN POD STAKLENOM KUGLOM. ORGANIZOVALE SMO DISKUSIJE I TAKO DALJE. MEĐUTIM, MI NISMO SHVATALE DA MOŽEMO I POLITIČKI DA DELUJEMO, JER SMO BILE POD STAKLENIM ZVONOM TITOVOG SOCIJALIZMA KOJI JE POTPUNO OMEKŠAO. TEK SU RATOVI, PRE SVEGA U HRVATSKOJ, PA POSLE TOGA U BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI, UČINILI DA SE, POSEBNO NA OVOJ SRBIJANSKOJ STRANI, FEMINISTKINJE POLITIČKI ANGAŽUJU PROTIV ETNIČKOG ČIŠĆENJA, PROTIV MILITARIZMA I PROTIV NACIONALIZMA. TU SU PRE SVEGA ŽENE U CRNOM, ZATIM AUTONOMNI ŽENSKI CENTAR I ČAK SMO 1992. GODINE OSNOVALE CENTAR ZA ŽENSKJE STUDIJE. KADA SMO PITALE DEVOJKE – ZAŠTO STE DOŠLE U CENTAR ZA ŽENSKJE STUDIJE, ODGOVARALE SU – HOĆEMO DA MISLIMO.

...THE FACT THAT IT HAPPENED TO SOMEBODY ELSE, SOMEWHERE ELSE, WE CANNOT EVICT FROM OUR OWN LIVES, AND MAYBE THAT IS THE MOST MINIMALIST DEFINITION OF RESPONSIBILITY, WHEN YOU THINK THAT MAYBE YOUR LIFE IS POSSIBLE BECAUSE YOU BEAR SOMEBODY ELSE'S SUFFERING AND BECAUSE YOU THINK THAT SOMEBODY ELSE'S SUFFERING IS WORTH YOUR OWN LIFE.

...I WAS AFRAID THAT THE FASCIST DISCOURSE WOULD PENETRATE ALL OF US, I WAS PETRIFIED BY THE IDEA.

...BUT ACTUALLY THIS OTHER IS... HOW MUCH YOU INVEST IN EMPATHY OR RESPECT OF THE OTHER AND SO ON... IT'S YOUR OWN MEASURE, AND NOT HOW MUCH YOU INVEST IN YOURSELF, YOUR OWN FAMILY AND SO ON. THAT 'S IT... THAT 'S HOW WE GET CLOSEST AS POSSIBLE, BECAUSE YOU DON'T SELF CONCENTRATE ON A "WE", SINCE WE DON'T EVEN KNOW WHO THE "WE" ARE, BUT WE NEED TO KNOW WHO THE OTHERS ARE.

...NO, WHEN I SAID THAT, IT WAS AN UNDERSTATEMENT THAT I WILL TAKE CARE OF MYSELF VERY PERSONALLY, BUT THE CRITERIUM OF MY NARCISSISM, DO YOU UNDERSTAND ME, WILL HAVE TO BE DIFFERENT, UNDERSTAND?

...ČINJENICA JE DA SE NEKIMA NEGDE DRUGDE DOGAĐALO, TO NE MOŽEMO DA IZBACIMO IZ SVOJIH ŽIVOTA, I TO JE MOŽDA NAJMINIMALNIJA DEFINICIJA ODGOVORNOSTI, KAD TI RAZMIŠLJAŠ DA LI JE TVOJ ŽIVOT ZAPRAVO OMOGUĆEN ZATO ŠTO TI PODNOSIŠ NEČIJU DRUGU PATNJU I ZATO ŠTO SMATRAŠ DA JE NEČIJA DRUGA PATNJA VREDNA TVOG ŽIVOTA.

....JA SAM SE PLAŠILA UVLAČENJA FAŠISTIČKOG DISKURSA U SVE NAS I JA SAM OD TOGA BILA PRESTRAVLJENA.

...ALI JE ZAPRAVO TEBI DRUGI ILI DRUGA, KOLIKO TI ULAŽEŠ U TU ILI EMPATIJU ILI U POŠTOVANJE DRUGOG ILI DRUGE I TAKO DALJE, JE TVOJA MERA, A NE KOLIKO ULAŽEŠ U BRIGU ZA SEBE ZA SVOJU FAMILIJU I TAKO DALJE. TO MI JE... TU SE NEKAKO NAJVIŠE SE Približavamo, JER NEMA TE SAMOKONCENTRACIJE NA NEKO "MI", POŠTO NE ZNAMO KO SMO "MI", ALI IMAMO POTREBU DA ZNAMO KO SU DRUGI.

...NE, ALI JA KAD SAM TO REKLA, JA ZAPRAVO PODRAZUMEVAM, VRLO LIČNO DA ČU SE JA BRINUTI O SEBI, ALI DA ĆE KRITERIJUM MOG NARCIZMA, RAZUMEŠ, MORATI DA BUDE DRUGI. RAZUMEŠ?

SOMETIME IN MAY/JUNE 1992 WHEN THE WAR BROKE OUT AGAINST SARAJEVO, IF I MAY SAY SO, I HAD A BIG URGE TO COMMUNICATE TO MY FRIENDS AND ACQUAINTANCES THAT I WILL NOT CHANGE. THE WAR WAS ALREADY RAGING AND I WAS FEELING THAT URGE TO LET KNOW PEOPLE OUTSIDE WHO WORKED WITH ME, SOCIOLOGISTS, FEMINISTS FIRST OF ALL, AND THAT ALLOWED ME TO STAY IN TOUCH WITH THEM ALL THIS TIME AND TO WIN THEIR TRUST AS I TRUSTED THEM.

NEGDE U MAJU-JUNU 1992. GODINE, KADA JE BUKNUO RAT PROTIV SARAJEVA, AKO TAKO MOGU DA KAŽEM, JA SAM OSETILA JAKO VELIKU POTREBU DA SVOJIM POZNANICIMA I PRIJATELJIMA JAVIM DA SE NEĆU PROMENITI. VEĆ SU KRENULA RATNA DEJSTVA I JA SAM OSEĆALA TU POTREBU DA OBAVESTIM LJUDE IZ VANA KOJI SU SA MNOM SARADIVALI, PRE SVEGA SOCIOLOGE, SOCIOLOŠKINJE I FEMINISTKINJE, I TO MI JE NA NEKI NAČIN OMOGUĆILO DA S NJIMA Ostanem U KONTAKTU SVE OVO VREME I DA IMAM NJIHOVO POVERENJE KAO ŠTO ONI IMAJU POVERENJE U MENE.

THE POWER OF REPRESENTATION OF THE SOCIAL REALITY CAN BE VIEWED AS THE STRONGEST DISCURSIVE INSTRUMENT OF THE POLITICAL ORDER. THE LEGITIMIZING POWER OF THIS DOMINEERING DISCOURSE LIES IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE COLLECTIVE CONSENSUS AS POLITICAL/CULTURAL LANGUAGE CODE.

MOĆ NAD PREDSTAVLJANJEM DRUŠTVENE STVARNOSTI MOŽE BITI POSMATRANA KAO NAJJAČI DISKURZIVNI INSTRUMENT POLITIČKOG PORETKA. LEGITIMIZACIJSKA MOĆ OVOG DOMINANTNOG DISKURSA LEŽI U KONSTRUKCIJI KOLEKTIVNOG KONSENZUSA KAO KULTURNOG/POLITIČKOG JEZIČKOG KODA.

BRIEFLY, THE MAIN PROBLEM AND THE MOST TRAGIC RESULT OF THE DISINTEGRATION OF FORMER YUGOSLAVIA IS THE DOMINANT, MANIPULATIVE OPERATION OF PURPOSEFULLY PROVOKING, CONSTRUCTING, AND "PRODUCING" NATIONALISMS AND CHAUVINISMS-MYTHOLOGICAL, NARCISSISTIC, NON-REFLEXIVE, AGGRESSIVE, HATEFUL TOWARDS OTHER NATIONS, AS THE MAIN AND ONLY GUILTY PARTY FOR ITS SUFFERINGS AND "HISTORICAL LOSSES." FOR THE RULING PARTIES, THE NATION IS ABOVE EVERYTHING, ABOVE EVERY IDEOLOGY. IT IS ABOVE EVERY POSSIBILITY OF DIVERSE POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS WITHIN THE VERY SAME NATION WHICH ARE AN OBVIOUS AND NECESSARY PRECONDITION OF DEMOCRACY. NATION IS, THEREFORE, ABOVE DEMOCRACY.

UKRATKO, GLAVNI PROBLEM I NAJTRAGIČNIJI REZULTAT RASPADA BIVŠE JUGOSLAVIJE JE DOMINANTNA, MANIPULATIVNA OPERACIJA NAMERNOG IZAZIVANJA, KONSTRUISANJA I "PROIZVODNJE" NACIONALIZAMA I ŠOVINIZAMA, MITOLOŠKIH, NARCISTIČKIH, NEREFLEKSIVNIH, AGRESIVNIH, MRZITELJSKIH PREMA DRUGIM NACIJAMA KOJE SU GLAVNI I JEDINI KRIVCI ZA NJIHOVE PATNJE I "ISTORIJSKE GUBITKE". ZA VLADAJUĆE PARTIJE, NACIJA JE IZNAD SVEGA, IZNAD SVAKE IDEOLOGIJE. ONA JE IZNAD SVAKE MOGUĆNOSTI RAZLIČITIH POLITIČKIH ORIJENTACIJA U OKVIRU TE ISTE NACIJE, KOJE SU OČIGLEDAN I NUŽAN PREDUSLOV DEMOKRATIJE.

NACIJA JE, TAKO, IZNAD DEMOKRATIJE.

EKSPERIMENTALNI FILM *TO JE MOJ IZVEŠTAJ VAMA* SADRŽI CITATE I AUTENTIČNE AUDIO MATERIJALE IZ ŽARANINIH TEKSTOVA, RAZGOVORA I PREDAVANJA. ŽARANA PAPIĆ JE BILA POLITIČKA AKTIVISTKINJA KOJA NAS JE SOPSTVENIM RADOM OBAVEZALA DA NASTAVIMO DA SE SUPROTSTAVLJAMO FAŠIZMU I NACIONALIZMU. FILM JE PREVEDEN I NA ZNAKOVNI JEZIK SA IDEJOM KONTINUIRANOG PREISPITIVANJA MISLI I JEZIKA. *TO JE MOJ IZVEŠTAJ VAMA* REŽIRAO JE VLADIMIR ŠOJATA, ZNAKOVNA INTERPRETATORKA VERA JOVANOVIĆ. PRODUKCIJA I IDEJA ZA FILM REKONSTRUKCIJA ŽENSKI FOND.

THE EXPERIMENTAL MOVIE *This Is My Report to You* CONTAINS QUOTES AND AUTHENTIC AUDIO MATERIALS FROM ŽARANA'S TEXTS, CONVERSATIONS AND LECTURES. ŽARANA PAPIĆ WAS A POLITICAL ACTIVIST WHO THROUGH HER WORK OBLIGATED US TO CONTINUE TO OPOSE FASCISM AND NATIONALISM. THE MOVIE HAS BEEN TRANSLATED INTO SIGN LANGUAGE WITH THE IDEA OF CONTINUOUSLY QUESTIONING THOUGHT AND LANGUAGE. *This Is My Report to You* WAS DIRECTED BY VLADIMIR ŠOJATA, AND THE SIGN LANGUAGE INTERPRETATION WAS DONE BY VERA JOVANOVIĆ. PRODUCTION AND ORIGINAL IDEA FOR THE MOVIE BY RECONSTRUCTION WOMEN'S FUND.



IN THE NAME OF THE HIGHER, NATIONAL CAUSE. TO BE ABLE TO RAPE, TO KILL AND CUT, TO BURN HUMAN BODIES, TO DESTROY EVERYTHING ON SIGHT, CANNOT BE DONE AS AN AUTONOMOUS HUMAN BEING. TO BE ABLE TO DO THIS DEADLY BRUTALITY, NORMAL MEN HAVE TO LOSE THEIR OWN INDIVIDUALITY, ETHICAL CODES AND OWN SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS.

U IME VIŠEG NACIONALNOG CILJA. BITI U STANJU DA SILUJE, DA UBIJA I KOLJE, DA SPALJUJE LJUDSKA TELA, DA UNIŠTAVA SVE PRED SOBOM, TO SE NE MOŽE KAO AUTONOMNO LJUDSKO BIĆE. DA BI BILI U STANJU DA ČINE TU SMRTONOSNU/UŽASNU BRUTALNOST, NORMALNI MUŠKARCI TREBA DA IZGUBE INDIVIDUALNOST, ETIČKE KODEKSE I SOPSTVENU SAMOSVEST.

A KIND OF UNEASINESS WAS LEFT OVER WHICH WE ALL FELT IN ALL SITUATIONS... WE WERE ALMOST EXPECTED TO REACH THE CONSENSUS TO AGREE ON THE HIERARCHY. TO AGREE ON WHO IS NUMBER ONE ENEMY, WHO IS NUMBER TWO, WHO IS MORE GUILTY, WHO IS SECOND GUILTY, WHO IS LESS GUILTY AND BECAUSE OF THE BOMBINGS, TO INVERT INSIDE OUT, DIFFERENT VALUES, PERSONAL VALUES TOO.

OSTALA JE ZAPRAVO KAO NELAGODA KOJU SMO SVE MI OSEĆALE U SVIM SITUACIJAMA.... GDE SE ZAPRAVO DOLAZILO DO MALTENE OČEKIVANJA KONSENZUSA DA SE SVI DOGOVORIMO, DA SE SLOŽIMO OKO HIJERARHIJE. DA SE SLOŽIMO KO JE PRVI NEPRIJATELJ, KO JE DRUGI NEPRIJATELJ, KO JE VIŠE KRIV, KO JE DRUGI, KO JE MANJE KRIV I DA ODJEDNOM ZBOG ČINJENICE BOMBARDOVANJA, DA ZAPRAVO PREVRNEMO, IZVRŠIMO NEKU INVERZIJU RAZNIH I SVOJIH VREDNOSTI, VLASTITIH.

FASCISM IS, IN FACT, A VERY ACTIVE PROCESS, A CO-OPERATION CONSTANTLY INVOKED FOR THE NORMALIZATION OF ITS CODES, AN UNTRANSPARENT BUT POWERFUL DEMAND FOR EACH AND EVERY INDIVIDUAL, FOR EACH AND EVERY POLITICAL SUBJECT, TO SHARE ITS NORMS UP TO THE POINT OF NO RETURN WHEN CONSENSUS/SILENCE OF THE ANNIHILATION OF THE OTHER IS REACHED, AND THE COLLABORATION BECOMES "FORCEFULLY VOLUNTARY" (FORCEMENT VOLONTAIRE).

FAŠIZAM JE, U STVARI, VEOMA AKTIVAN PROCES, STALNO TRAZENJE SARADNJE NA NORMALIZACIJI NJEGOVIH KODEKSA, NETRANSPARENTAN ALI MOĆAN ZAHTEV SVAKOM POJEDINCU, SVAKOM POLITIČKOM SUBJEKTU, DA SA NJIM DELI NORME DO TAČKE SA KOJE NEMA POVRATKA KADA SE POSTIŽE KONSENZUS/PREĆUTKIVANJE UNIŠTENJA DRUGOG, A KOLABORIRANJE POSTAJE „PRISILNO DOBROVOLJNO”.

THEREFORE, CATEGORIES SUCH AS THE "TRAITOR," AND THE "ENEMY" IN NATIONALISM ARE NO LONGER A POLITICAL CATEGORY, BUT AN OVER-ALL CATEGORY THAT PRETENDS TO BE THE ONE AND ONLY DEFINITION OF OUR HUMANITY.

TAKO DA KATEGORIJE KAO ŠTO SU "IZDAJNIK" I "NEPRIJATELJ" U NACIONALIZMU VIŠE NISU POLITIČKE KATEGORIJE, VEĆ OPŠTE KATEGORIJE KOJE PRETENDUJU DA BUDU JEDNA JEDINA DEFINICIJA NAŠE LJUDSKOSTI.

IN THE FEMINIST INITIATIVES OF THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA, THERE WAS A VERY SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL POTENTIAL. THE FEMINISTS WERE NOT SEDUCED, OR WILLING TO BE SEDUCED, REGARDING THREE POINTS.

THEY WERE NOT SEDUCED BY NATIONALISM, SINCE IT WAS OBVIOUS THAT IT WAS PART OF THE PATRIARCHAL VERTICAL STRUCTURE.

THEY WERE NOT NOSTALGIC FOR COMMUNISM, THAT IS, THEY NEVER THOUGHT THAT EVERYTHING WAS OVER BECAUSE OF THE FALL OF THE BERLIN WALL.

THEY WERE NOT SEDUCED BY THE EUPHORIA OF THE PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY. IT WAS CLEAR THAT WOMEN, AGAIN, WOULD NOT BE THERE.

SO THE FALL OF THE BERLIN WALL AND THE WARS IN FORMER YUGOSLAVIA SHOWED US FEMINISTS HOW MUCH MORE STILL HAS TO BE DONE, AND HOW MUCH THE POLITICAL MOBILIZATION IS NECESSARY.

THIS HAS TO BE DONE AGAINST THE CURRENT OF EXCLUSION, AGAINST THE RACIST CURRENT, AGAINST THE ETHNIC CLEANSING, AND AGAINST THE CLOSURE OF ONE'S OWN BORDERS. OUR PRINCIPLE WAS TO CROSS THE BORDERS PERSISTENTLY, AND THAT IS WHAT THE WOMEN'S GROUPS DID CONSISTENTLY, EVEN WHEN OTHERS DID NOT. WE WORKED TOGETHER CONSTANTLY. CONTINUITY EXISTS THERE.

I IMA NEKOLIKO STVARI KOJE SU ZNAČAJNE, DA JE U FEMINISTIČKIM INICIJATIVAMA BIVŠE JUGOSLAVIJE POSTOJAO JEDAN IZUZETNO VAŽAN POLITIČKI POTENCIJAL, A TO JE DA FEMINISTKINJE NISU BILE ZAVEDENE I NISU SE DALE ZAVESTI PO TRI TAČKE.

NIJE IH ZAVEO NACIONALIZAM, ZATO ŠTO JE BILO JASNO DA JE TO VERTIKALNA PATRIJAHALNA STRUKTURA. NISU BILE KOMUNISTIČKO NOSTALGIČNE, ZNAČI DA MISLE DA JE SVE PROPALO AKO JE PAO BERLINSKI ZID, BEZ OBZIRA NA POZITIVNE NEKE REZULTATE SOCIJALISTIČKOG PORETKA.

NISU SE DALE ZAVESTI NEKOM EUFORIJOM PARLAMENTARNE DEMOKRATIJE, ZATO ŠTO JE BILO JASNO DA OPET ŽENE NEĆE BITI PRISUTNE, TAKO DA SU PAD BERLINSKOG ZIDA I RATOVI BIVŠE JUGOSLAVIJE POKAZALI NAMA FEMINISTKINJAMA I OSTALIM AKTIVISTKINJAMA KOLIKO ZAPRAVO TEK MORA DA SE RADI I KOLIKO JE POTREBNA POLITIČKA MOBILIZACIJA I DA MORA ZAPRAVO DA SE RADI PROTIV STRUJE, PROTIV STRUJE ISKLJUČIVANJA, PROTIV RASISTIČKE STRUJE, PROTIV ETNIČKOG ČIŠĆENJA I PROTIV ZATVARANJA U VLASTITE GRANICE, ZAPRAVO PRINCIP JE BIO DA SE STALNO PREKORAČUJU GRANICE I TO SU ŽENSKE GRUPE DOSLEDNO RADILE, ČAK I KAD DRUGI NISU, TA KONSTANTNA SARADNJA. TU POSTOJI JEDAN KONTINUITET.

THIS IS MY REPORT TO YOU.

TO JE MOJ IZVEŠTAJ VAMA.

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